

ALEKSANDER R. MICHALAK

Angels as Warriors  
in Late Second Temple  
Jewish Literature

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

330

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Aleksander R. Michalak

# Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature

Mohr Siebeck

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Dla Pauli



## Preface

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Jerusalem, 24 November 2011

Aleksander R. Michalak

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## Abbreviations

AAT	<i>Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento</i> (see Sacchi)
AB	<i>The Aramaic Bible</i>
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
AF	<i>Aethiopistische Forschungen</i>
A.J.	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> ( <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> )
AGAJ	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJBL	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
AJSLL	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
ALASPM	<i>Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palastinas und Mesopotamiens</i>
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
ApAb	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
AposCon	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> (see Charles R.H.)
ApZeph	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ASCAM	<i>Archäologische Studien zum christlichen Altertum und Mittelalter</i>
AS	<i>Aramaic Studies</i>
ASTI	<i>Annual of Swedish Theological Institute</i>
AThR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin American School of Oriental Research</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BI	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibOr	<i>Bibbia e Oriente</i>
BiR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
B.J.	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i> ( <i>The Jewish War</i> )
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Ryland Library</i>
BJS	<i>Brown Judaic Studies</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BR	<i>Bible Review</i>
BS	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BVB	<i>Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel</i>

BW	<i>The Biblical World</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
C.A.	<i>Contra Apionem</i> (Against Apion)
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CDSE	<i>The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English</i> (see Vermes)
CH	<i>Church History</i>
ChE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CHW	<i>Christentum und Wissenschaft</i>
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
CommDan	<i>Jerome's Commentary on Daniel</i> (see Archer)
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques</i> , ed. A. Herdner
CTJ	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (see van der Toorn)
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EI	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
ÉJ	<i>Études Juives</i>
EL	<i>Ephemerides Liturgicae</i>
ET	<i>Expository Times</i>
ETH	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ETHR	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i>
EWNT	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
FWJ	<i>Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
HB	<i>Hebrew Bible</i>
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HR	<i>History of Religion</i>
HSM	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
HSP	<i>Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers</i>
HSS	<i>Harvard Semitic Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
JA	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of American Oriental Society</i>
JAB	<i>Journal for the Aramaic Bible</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JC	<i>Jerusalem Cathedral</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Evangelical Studies</i>
JETHS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical-Theological Society</i>
JFS	<i>Journal for Semitics</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>

JMEOS	<i>Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSJS	<i>Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of New Testament</i>
JSNTSS	<i>Journal for the Study of New Testament Supplement Series</i>
JSOTS	<i>Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
JSPS	<i>Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSHRZ	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
KTU	(see Dietrich)
LAB	<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>
LD	<i>Lectio Divina</i>
LSJ	H.G.Liddel and R. Scott (compilers), <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992)
NRT	<i>Nouvelle Revue Theologique</i>
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OBO	<i>Oribis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
OR	<i>Orientalia</i>
OTP	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (see Charlesworth)
OTStud	<i>The Old Testament Student</i>
Pan	<i>Codex Panopolitanus the Gizeh Papyrus Greek Text (1 Enoch)</i>
PesR	<i>Peshikta Rabbati</i>
PL	<i>Positions Luthériennes</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (Stuttgart, 1962)
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RDSO	<i>Rivista Degli Studi Orientali</i>
RÉS	<i>Revue des Études Slaves</i>
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RiB	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RM	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RSI	<i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista Degli Studi Orientali</i>
RSPT	<i>Revue de Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
RTL	<i>Revue Théologiques de Louvain</i>
Ryl	<i>Rylands Ethiopic Manuscript 23 (1 Enoch)</i>
SAIS	<i>Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture</i>
SBLDS	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series</i>
SBLSCS	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
SBLSP	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SC	<i>Studii Clasice</i>



SCA	<i>The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity</i>
SEA	<i>Studia Ephemeridis Augustianum</i>
SJSJ	<i>Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
SH	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
SSN	<i>Studia Semitica Neerlandica</i>
SSU	<i>Studia Semitica Upsaliensia</i>
STAC	<i>Studien und Texten zu Antike und Christentum</i>
STDJ	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
STU	<i>Schweizerische Theologische Umschau</i>
STZ	<i>Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
SUNT	<i>Studien zur Umwelt des Neues Testaments</i>
SVTP	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha</i>
Sync	<i>Georgius Syncellus's Greek Text of 1Enoch</i>
T12P	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
TA	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
TADAE	see Porten-Yardeni ( <i>Textbooks of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> )
TANZ	<i>Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter</i>
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, H. J. Fabry
ThA	<i>Theologische Arbeiten</i>
TJ	<i>Targum Jonathan</i>
TSAJ	<i>Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum</i>
TT	<i>Tosefta Targums</i>
TTPS	<i>Texts and Translations Pseudepigrapha Series</i>
UCOS	<i>University of Cambridge Oriental Studies</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VD	<i>Verbum Domini</i>
VS	<i>Verba Seniorum</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTS	<i>Vetus Testamentum Supplements</i>
WMANT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i>
WS	<i>Woodbrook Studies</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUB	<i>Welt und Umwelt der Bibel</i>
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
YCS-Yale	<i>Classical Studies</i>
ZARBR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

## Introduction

“The angels of God will fight for him against you”

οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμήσουσι καθ’ ὑμῶν  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

(*Joseph and Aseneth* 25: 6/7)

“Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?”<sup>1</sup>

ἢ δοκεῖς ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι παρακαλέσαι τὸν  
πατέρα μου, καὶ παραστήσει μοι ἄρτι  
πλείω δώδεκα λεγιῶνας ἀγγέλων

(*Matthew* 26:53)

### 1. The Problem

These two passages invoke a problem which I would like to discuss in relation to Jewish literature, and less directly in relation to Jewish society of the Second Temple Period. This problem concerns religious imagery and could be put in a very simple way: were angels perceived as warriors or were they at least associated with martiality? Both Jesus’ rhetorical question and the statement of Joseph’s brothers reveal the existence of at least a certain belief in angelic beings who could actively participate in human wars.

In the ancient world warfare was at least as ubiquitous as it was in later periods. Images of sieges and battles and slaughters were eagerly portrayed in ancient art. Wars constituted a *leitmotif* in ancient historiography. Descriptions of the battles occupied a significant place both in the Greek and Near Eastern accounts. In the militarized societies of these regions the status of warrior was usually very high. Kings willingly presented themselves as powerful, capable and formidable fighters, supported by gods in

---

<sup>1</sup> Matthew alone records this as Jesus’ declaration. See R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on its Literary and Theological Art* (Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983), 539.

their belligerent deeds. In ancient wars the divine realm was viewed as overlapping with earthly reality.<sup>2</sup> Victory in battle was frequently described in mythical terms. The Homeric heroes, both divine and human, were exalted. In Antiquity, the ideal male was frequently perceived as a warrior.<sup>3</sup> For many centuries, the social position of a warrior was very high. The Bible slightly differs from other ancient accounts. There is no doubt that wars played an important role in the biblical plot. Peter Craigie has correctly indicated that the Hebrew conviction that God revealed himself in the events of human history provides a clue to understanding conception of God as Warrior.<sup>4</sup> However, judging by the biblical descriptions it is difficult to call the ancient Israelite a *homo militaris*. It seems no coincidence that the greatest Jewish warrior, Judas Maccabeus, appeared in the time when the Greek ideals were already penetrating the territory of Palestine.<sup>5</sup> David who killed Goliath constitutes the type of a quasi-anti-warrior to a certain extent. He refuses to use the arms which were regular attributes of the warriors, the sword and armour. Samson, another eminent Israelite warrior, performs his great military achievement using a jaw-bone of an ass. Generally, in earlier materials the Israelite/Jewish heroes do not seem to play a relevant role. Their deeds are always overshadowed by Yahweh's intervention.

Given this the biblical redactors are very consistent. According to them, it was just Yahweh himself who was able to win the battles for his people.

Similarly to other Near Eastern Deities, such as, El, Assur, Anat or Baal, Yahweh was considered to be a warrior and was called 'a man of war' (אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה) (Ex 15:3). Certainly, there is no such thing as a uniform conception of the war in the Bible. Nonetheless, according to some of the religious beliefs of Israelites, Yahweh was not the sole transcendent warrior. Like earthly rulers who have their officers and soldiers, Yahweh had many heavenly subordinates at his disposal. There were, therefore, other

---

<sup>2</sup> Hamblin writes with regard to Old Egyptian Kingdom: "For the Egyptians, war was a heady mixture of violence, religious ritual, magic and divine sanction and intervention." W. J. Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC, Holy Warrior at the Dawn of History* (London and NY: Routledge, 2005), 366.

<sup>3</sup> With regard to the Greek states, see e.g. W. G. Runciman, "Greek Hoplitēs, Warrior Culture, and Indirect Bias", *JRAI* 4 (1998), 731–751.

<sup>4</sup> P. C. Craigie, *The Problem of War*, 39. However, this conception was by no means as unique as it was considered to be in the past. Most of the ancient peoples perceived their gods as participating actively in wars. See e.g. M. Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges im alten Israel'", *ZAW* 84 (1972), 460–493.

<sup>5</sup> On the Greek conception of a warrior see F. Vian, "La Fonction Guerrière dans la mythologie Grecque", in J. P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris: Mouton, 1968), 53–68.

divine beings who actively participated in the battles. The existence of these ancient conceptions made me ask about possible appearances of these beliefs in the later times. The goal of my work is to investigate the important aspect of the religion concerning the warlike imagery. This aspect of Jewish religion or folklore has never been profoundly researched so far. It will be, therefore, the main contribution of my work. Hopefully, this research may also throw some new light on the Jewish military struggles of the epoch.

The notions of angelic warriors together with their iconographic representations are well known phenomena over centuries.<sup>6</sup> The topos of the fighting angel is present in different cultures. Angels appear dressed in military costumes in Byzantine art.<sup>7</sup> In the medieval period angelic knights are on army standards and stained glass windows. They were believed to accompany Christian armies in their struggles against the Saracens. The Virgin of Orleans had both Michael and Gabriel on her standard. A warlike character of angels was also not unknown to Islam. In Surah 3.120 we read: "It is not enough for you that your Lord aideth you with three thousand angels sent down?" All these accounts are from much later periods. They can only demonstrate that in some periods, at least, it was rather self-evident to connect angelic status with martial activity.

It seems that the concept of angelic armies was rather widespread in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period. This idea is present in various pseudepigraphic works, e.g., the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 19:4–9<sup>8</sup> or *Slavonic Enoch* 17:1.<sup>9</sup> We, however, would like to ask: was it also obvious or common in the Second Temple Period to consider the angel as warrior who can in one way or another contribute to the result of earthly battles? Was it something which was considered an inherent attribute of 'angelhood'? Or was it only an incidental way of thinking about the angels? If they were warriors, what implication does it have for Judaism? Was there a particular connection between the holiness of angels and their martial status? The ancient polytheistic societies had their specific warrior deities responsible for victory or defeat in battle. In the Bible, Yahweh himself is

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<sup>6</sup> D. Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 201–203.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Depicted in old Slavonic as силы e.g.: "l'armée cette gloire" (силоу невидимья славы). R. Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1987), 166–167.

<sup>9</sup> "Au milieu du ciel je vis une milice armée." (По средѣ же небеси видѣхъ въшроужены вшрѣ.) A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets D'Hénoch, Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Rue Michelet, 1952), 16–17.

a ‘Man of War’. It seems however, that in later period some of his prerogatives were transferred to the angels.

Numerous references to angels in both Jewish and early Christian literature demonstrate that belief in angelic figures was a widely accepted aspect of late Second Temple Judaism. In various works of extra-biblical literature we find numerous human encounters with angels. It is in this period that the various concepts concerning angelic hierarchy and names also appear. Military language frequently plays a relevant role in depictions of the angelic divisions in Second Temple texts, and in the older biblical narratives descriptions of angels have sometimes a martial character.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Investigations of angelology

There have been numerous scholarly investigations concerning the factor of the development of the ideas of angels in postexilic Judaism. Many of them have contributed to the general understanding of Jewish ‘angelic’ conceptions. However, angelology has been rather rarely investigated on its own. Usually it has been a springboard for research concerning Christology, Monotheism and Jewish Mysticism.<sup>11</sup> During recent years especially, Christology has been the subject which was the most eagerly researched in the angelological context.

As early as 1898 Lueken devoted a monograph to the archangel Michael. He pointed out that Christians ascribed Michael’s position in pre-Christian Judaism to Jesus.<sup>12</sup> However, Lueken used rabbinic and patristic sources in too simplistic a way which significantly influenced and distorted the results of his work. Over forty year later Barbel’s work appeared where the relation of Jewish angelology to Christology was discussed as well.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See S. M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ 36, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 69.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot* (TSAJ 16, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988); C. R. A. Morray-Jones, “Transformational mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah tradition”, *JJS* 43 (1992), 1–31.

<sup>12</sup> W. Lueken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898).

<sup>13</sup> J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos: Die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des Christlichen Altertums* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1941).

The fifth chapter (“Die Engel im Himmel”) of Bietenhard’s book *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*<sup>14</sup> addresses various angelic concepts. They include: the “Engelklassen”, the “Völkerengel”, the “Fürst der Welt”, the “himmlische Gerichtshof”, the “Kult and Lobgesang”. Unfortunately, given the year of publication of this book, Bietenhard was not able to take into account the Qumran literature.

D. S. Russel in his study of Jewish apocalyptic devoted some space to the problem of the impact of apocalyptic literature upon Jewish angelology.<sup>15</sup>

Peter Schäfer, in his *Habilitationsschrift*, a study of 74 rabbinic texts, focused on the relationships between angels and men in rabbinic literature.<sup>16</sup> However, in the introductory part he also has offered a short overview of Jewish pseudepigraphic literature and Qumran sources. His main conclusion is that the angels oppose men because human nature contradicts God’s holiness and justice. The traditions about angels in Schäfer’s research also throw relevant light on the human condition vis-à-vis God. The main, unavoidable weakness of his work lies in the problems or even impossibility of dating anonymous traditions. Hence the relationships between those traditions are highly speculative as well.

In his fresh look at the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic traditions, Christopher Rowland also discussed notions involving angelology, especially with regard to the exalted status of the angelic figure.<sup>17</sup> In his work, Rowland complained about the shortage of secondary literature concerning so-called angel-Christology. Having said this, in the following years several works were published that dealt with the conception of *Engelchristologie*,<sup>18</sup> angelomorphic humanity or with these two topics together.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1950), 101–142.

<sup>15</sup> D. S. Russel, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), 240–262.

<sup>16</sup> P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Studia Judaica FWJ 8, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1975), *passim*. Rabbinic traditions about the angels are brought together by other scholars as well. See E. Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 135–183. I refer sometimes to tannaitic and amoraic texts. See the introduction to chapter 2.

<sup>17</sup> C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982). See especially pp. 78–135.

<sup>18</sup> Martin Werner was one of the first who to claim the significance of *Engelchristologie* for earliest Christianity. *Die Entstehung des Christlichen Dogma* (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1941). This work was criticised by W. Michaelis, *Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum: Abbau der Konstruktion Martin Werners* (Basel: Heinrich Majer, 1942). See also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos*; J. Daniélou, *Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), 117.

Larry W. Hurtado has undertaken a study of the angelic host with regard to the monotheistic character of the Jewish faith.<sup>20</sup> Hurtado's concern is "the praxis of early Christian devotion", and his approach is mainly a phenomenological one. Hurtado has pointed out that Judaism provided early Christianity with the category of thought which he called divine agency and Christians "produced somewhat distinctive modification of these traditions."<sup>21</sup> He identifies three types of divine agents in ancient Judaism. One of them is a category of principal angels. In his work, Hurtado has not found evidence of the worship of angels and he has underlined the unique character of the worship of Christ.<sup>22</sup>

Loren T. Stuckenbruck posed a question whether and to what degree one may speak of a veneration of angels in Early Jewish and Christian sources, and how (if at all) this motif may have been applied to Christology.<sup>23</sup> Stuckenbruck examined the cultic area involved with the angelological notions and Christology. He indicates that in several texts "angels could be made objects of veneration as beings aligned and subordinate to God."<sup>24</sup>

Despite the fact that Stuckenbruck is concerned mainly with veneration as a context for the Christology of the Book of Revelation<sup>25</sup>, his book constitutes a valuable source for the investigations of angelology in general.<sup>26</sup>

Darrell D. Hannah has also surveyed the role of Jewish angelology in early Christology.<sup>27</sup> His book constitutes the most extensive depiction of

<sup>19</sup> L. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord, Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988); L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology* (WUNT 2, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); C. A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents & Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); D. D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (WUNT 109, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> *One God, One Lord, passim*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> The novelty of the worship of Christ was also claimed by Richard Bauckham. "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity", *NTS* 27 (1980/81), 322–341.

<sup>23</sup> L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology*, 3–5.

<sup>24</sup> L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology*, 269, See e.g. *LAB* 13:6.

<sup>25</sup> The Angelomorphic Christology of Revelation was also investigated by P. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels, Angelology and Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also R. Gundry, "Angelomorphic Christology in the Book of Revelation", *SBLSP* 33 (1994), 662–678.

<sup>26</sup> Stuckenbruck has been more concerned with angelology in the Jewish context *per se* in his later article. L. T. Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'God': Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism", in L. T. Stuckenbruck and W. E. S. North (eds.), *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (JSNTSS 263, London-New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 45–70.

<sup>27</sup> D. D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ, passim*.

Michael's traditions which was published since Lueken's work. Hannah intends to depict Michael traditions functioning in early Christianity and postexilic Judaism, and to examine to what degree Christology is indebted to Jewish eschatological expectations. In the chapter devoted to the New Testament Hannah pointed out that the image of Christ adopted several features known to be Michael's.<sup>28</sup> It included the leadership of the heavenly host.

Alan F. Segal's book focuses on the rabbinic attitude toward the so-called two power heresy.<sup>29</sup> Segal dealt with extra-rabbinic tradition according to which the principal angelic or hypostatic manifestation in heaven was equivalent to God.<sup>30</sup>

Saul M. Olyan has broadly investigated angelic beliefs from the vantage point of the "emergence of angelic names and the designation for angelic divisions."<sup>31</sup> Olyan persuasively presented the exegetical process leading to the appearance of the new names of individual angelic beings<sup>32</sup> as well as designations of angels as groups in the literature of the Second Temple Period and later works.

There are also books and articles dealing with the angelomorphic humans, namely the exalted humans who became like angels.<sup>33</sup> In particular, Crispin Fletcher-Louis has published a very vast study concerning the priestly angelomorphic model.<sup>34</sup>

He put forward the thesis that human primordial state was considered angelic. Kevin Sullivan, in his book, discusses the relationships between humans and angels in the literary sources from the period of c. 200 BCE to c. 100 CE.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *Michael and Christ*, 122–162.

<sup>29</sup> A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven, Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill 1971).

<sup>30</sup> *Two Powers in Heaven*, x.

<sup>31</sup> *A Thousand Thousands*, 2.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Lahtiel (Lehatim), Abaddon (Duma), Zewaiel, Doqiel, Yephethiyya, Hadriel, Mahpekeil (Haphekiel), Keballa, Mamonas (Mamona), Mastema.

<sup>33</sup> L. L. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*; C. A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents & Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); C. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> C. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> K. P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and New Testament* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004).



R. M. M. Tuschling focuses on angelology in the context of Syriac sources<sup>36</sup> such as Ephraem, Aphrahat and Origen (sic!)<sup>37</sup> with regard to Christian Orthodoxy. Tuschling devoted a subchapter of his work to the understanding of angels at Qumran.<sup>38</sup> He also very briefly suggested some common points between Syriac ascetism and the Qumran ‘holy war’ against the powers of darkness.<sup>39</sup> Tuschling has concluded that Christianity from the area of Palestine and Syria demonstrates a connection between angels and orthodoxy “that remains relatively consistent over the period reviewed.”<sup>40</sup> Yet the notion of different angelic ranks can also be used to safeguard monotheistic orthodoxy.<sup>41</sup>

The most extensive study devoted to the question of beliefs in angels and various angelic traditions was written by Michael Mach.<sup>42</sup> He discusses biblical angelology and later development of Jewish angelology. Mach examined several important issues such as: communion with angels, the various angelic functions, a possible political role of angels etc. It is also worth noting the bibliography of Mach’s book since it includes many articles and books very often omitted in other works.<sup>43</sup> Mach supposes that the development of angelology in the postbiblical period was connected with the rise of apocalypticism which he viewed as a reaction to the destruction of the first Jerusalem Temple.<sup>44</sup> Mach’s work was criticized for being superficial in its treatment of the materials and for a lack of more profound analysis.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study in Their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (STAC 40, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

<sup>37</sup> On the reason of inclusion of Origen among writers from Syria, see R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, 137–138.

<sup>38</sup> R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, 36–39.

<sup>39</sup> R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, 71.

<sup>40</sup> R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, 207.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ 34, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992). Moreover, Donata Dörfel, in her published doctoral dissertation, focused on the theological significance of the angelologies found in the books of the postexilic prophets: Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, as well as in *1 Enoch*. D. Dörfel, *Engel in der apokalyptischen Literatur und ihre theologische Relevanz: Am Beispiel von Ezechiel, Sacharja, Daniel und Erstem Henoch* (Aachen: Shaker, 1998).

<sup>43</sup> On the general bibliography of angels, see G. J. Marshall, *Angels: An Indexed and Partially Annotated Bibliography of Over 4300 Scholarly Books and Articles since the 7th Century BC* (London: McFarland, 2008).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, 114–127.

<sup>45</sup> See J. J. Collins (review), “Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit”, *JBL* 113 (1994), 140.

During the last few years an extensive collective work on angelology has been published. The work which is entitled: *The Concept of Celestial Beings: Origins, Development and Reception*.<sup>46</sup> It deals with many angelological speculations. The authors discuss, for instance, the notions of angels in Josephus, Philo's works, and Enochic literature. However, from the vantage point of our investigations the most important articles are those written by S. Beyerle: "Angelic Revelation in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature"<sup>47</sup>; D. D. Hannah: "Guardian Angels and Angelic National Patrons in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity"<sup>48</sup> and A. L. A. Hogeterp: "Angels, the Final Age and 1–2 Corinthians in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls".<sup>49</sup> Given the fact that this book ranges across so many interesting issues we will discuss this book in further detail, throughout the various chapters of this work.

### 3. Literature concerning the martial connotations of angels

To the best of our knowledge the issue of warlike angels in the Second Temple Period never appears as a separate topic of any published book although it frequently returns as a secondary interest in many books and articles. For obvious reasons we are not able to indicate all of them. We attempt, however, to refer here or elsewhere to those that we consider the most important of them.

Lukean's monographic work, dealing with Michael, referred to his military title, *archistrategos*.<sup>50</sup>

The issue of angels in the context of their warlike functions appears sporadically in the footnotes of Charlesworth's edition of the *Pseudepigrapha*. In his study, Olyan has indicated the military titles denominating angels.<sup>51</sup>

The above mentioned Michael Mach devoted a subchapter (Das "Heer des Himmels" und die kriegerische Gemeinschaft, 241–255) of his study to the Jewish notion of the fighting angels. He has focused mainly on the angelophanies from 2 Maccabees as well as Qumran texts (1QH 11:32–36; 1QM).

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<sup>46</sup> F. V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas and K. Schöpflin (eds.), *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, Yearbook 2007 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, 205–223.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, 413–435.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, 377–392.

<sup>50</sup> W. Lueken, *Michael*, 104.

<sup>51</sup> *A Thousand Thousands*, 69.

The military speculations involved with Michael and Gabriel were highlighted by Hannah, Urbach (for rabbinic literature) and Ginzberg. Michael's role as a divine warrior was also emphasized by John J. Collins<sup>52</sup> and James Davila.<sup>53</sup>

Saul M. Olyan lists the military terms which are present in biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew and later applied to angels: גבורים, דגלים, גברים, *mēm-munîm* (3 *Enoch* 19:6), פקודים (e.g. 4Q405 20; 1QM 2:4; 12:8; 1QS 1:9; CD 10:2; *Masseket Hekalot* 5 BHM 1:59)<sup>54</sup>, שלשים (3 *Enoch* 19:6), *Masseket Hekalot*. 5 (BHM 1:59), פרשים (3 *Enoch* 19:6). He suggests that all these names were not derived from the particular biblical text but constituted "an elaboration or extension of military usage in description of the angelic hosts."<sup>55</sup>

The military and cultic function of angels in the Second Temple Period has been investigated relatively widely only in the context of the Qumran Community. This was done especially by Yigael Yadin in his commentary on the *War Scroll*,<sup>56</sup> and in Maxwell J. Davidson's book *Angels at Qumran: A Comparison Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*.<sup>57</sup> It also appears as a secondary subject within many publications devoted to 1QM or other Qumranic writings. The angelology of 1QM has also been researched by Sullivan,<sup>58</sup> Ibba,<sup>59</sup> Fletcher-Louis,<sup>60</sup> Tuschling<sup>61</sup> and Lichtenberger.<sup>62</sup>

It is also worth remembering Carrell's work: *Jesus and the Angels, Angelology and Christology of the Apocalypse of John*. In keeping with the title of his work, Carrell examines the book of Revelation with a special focus on its Christology and with reference to Jewish biblical traditions from Daniel, Ezekiel and Zechariah and extra-biblical literature. The military associations of angels occur in the tenth chapter of this book where Carrell deals with Jesus as a symbolic military leader on the white horse

<sup>52</sup> J. J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic", *VT* 25 (1975), 596–612.

<sup>53</sup> J. R. Davila, *Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven* (SBLSP 35, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1996), 259–272.

<sup>54</sup> See Abegg M. G., J. E. Bowley and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, vol. 2 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), 620–621.

<sup>55</sup> S. M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, 69.

<sup>56</sup> Yadin Y. (ed.), *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of the Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

<sup>57</sup> (JSPS 11, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992)

<sup>58</sup> K. P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 155–161.

<sup>59</sup> G. Ibba, "Gli angeli del 'Rotolo della guerra' (1QM)", *Henoch* 19 (1997), 149–159.

<sup>60</sup> *All the Glory of Adam*, 395–475.

<sup>61</sup> R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, 117–124.

<sup>62</sup> "Heilige Engel sind in der Gemeinde: Engel in den Schriften von Qumran", in *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel*, 13 (2008), 28–30

(Rev 19:11) and with the identity of heavenly (angelic?) armies (Rev 19:11–16). Carrell notices that Jesus' role of Divine Warrior in this Apocalypse "shows signs of angelological influence."<sup>63</sup>

In the following chapter I would like to begin my examination of the sources concerning biblical conceptions of the warlike role of biblical divine council and the Angel of Yahweh. The martial features included in this imagery may have contributed to the development of angelology in the Second Temple period.

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<sup>63</sup> Carrell claims that Jesus replaced Michael in his function as the Divine Warrior. *Jesus and the Angels*, 210.

## Chapter 1

# The צבא השמים and the other heavenly beings in the Hebrew Bible

## Introduction

This part of our work primarily constitutes an introduction to the main area of the study, namely, Second Temple angelology. Since many angelic notions would seem to have been developed through the exegesis or expansion<sup>1</sup> of biblical texts, this introduction is of great importance for the overall thesis. This chapter is therefore intended to be more than just a cursory summary. However, many problems involved with biblical conceptions of ‘angelic beings’ clearly go beyond the framework of this dissertation.

### 1. Current literature on biblical ‘angelology’

The topic of the heavenly beings in their military context has not been neglected in the literature dealing with the Hebrew Bible. Indeed there are several works which concern the Hebrew conception of the ‘Divine Warrior’ or the divine war<sup>2</sup>; however, the heavenly host of Yahweh appears

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<sup>1</sup> L. H. Feldman writes: “As to angelology, most of the beliefs about the angels are expansion of older-beliefs, for example Ezekiel’s vision of angelic watchdog-like destroyers, and Zechariah’s angels restructuring the entire world.” Generally we tend to accept this conclusion. *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (JSJS 107, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), 20.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegeralttümer I: Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig 1901); H. Fredricksson, *Yahwe als Krieger: Studien zum alttestamentlichen Gottesbild* (Lund 1945); J. Pedersen, *Israel: its life and culture III–IV* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946); D. Merli, “Le guerre di sterminio nell antichità orientale e biblica”, *BibOr* 9 (1967), 53–68; R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (New York: Abingdon, 1970); M. C. Lind, “Paradigm of Holy War in the Old Testament”, *BiR* 16 (1971) 16–31; W. Janzen., “God as Warrior and Lord: A Conversation with G. E. Wright”, *BASOR* 220 (1975), 73–75; G. H. Jones, “Holy War or YHWH War?”, *VT* 25 (1975), 642–658; M. C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Windsor, Ont.: Herald Press, 1980); B. C. Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King* (JSOTS 41, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987). R. R. Hobbs., *A Time for War: A Study of Warfare in the Old Testament* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier,

rather rarely in this context. As early as 1903 Hermann Gunkel, the great representative of *die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, pointed out that the most primitive *Vorstellung* of Yahweh was involved with his command over angelic host.<sup>3</sup> The issue has been examined much later by some scholars connected with Harvard University. Frank Moore Cross, for instance, was one of the first who paid certain attention to the 'Army of Yahweh' in his book *Canaanite Myth and the Hebrew Epic*<sup>4</sup>. However, this problem was presented extremely concisely by him.

Among the literature which has taken up the issue of the host of heaven more extensively are P. D. Miller's book: *Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult*<sup>5</sup> and his short note: "Divine Council and Prophetic Call to War".<sup>6</sup> In the latter Miller has suggested that Yahweh's divine council "participated as a cosmic or heavenly army in the eschatological wars of Yahweh, those military activities associated with the Day of Yahweh, and that these conflicts (or conflict?) involved a joint participation of human and earthly forces and divine and heavenly army."<sup>7</sup> Miller's book concerns divine warfare in ancient Israel, its mythological background, and its relationship to the wars of Israel. He focused especially upon the Israelite early poetry (Ex 15; Deut 33:2-5, 26-29; Josh 10:12-13; Judg 5; Ps 18:7-18; Ps 68; Hab 3:3-15; 2 Sam 22:7-18). He also examined early prose traditions (Josh 5:13; Gen 33:2-3; 2 Sam 5:22-25) and 2 Kings 6:15,19; 7:6. It must be admitted that biblical scholarship owes a lot to Miller who first drew its attention to the divine hosts as a most significant factor in the imagery of divine warfare. From his study Yahweh emerges as the powerful commander of a divine army. However, as the author says, his study is in no sense exhaustive. Miller has ended his investigations with the subchapter: "Some-Post Old Testament Developments",<sup>8</sup> in which he only indicates the traces of the developments conception of divine army in pseudepigrapha,

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1989); G. H. Jones, "The Concept of Holy War", in R. E. Clements (ed.), *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> "Yahweh was imagined as a powerful general who commands a large 'host' of war-like knights, and with them fights his battles in heaven..." H. Gunkel, "Psalm 103: An Interpretation", *The Biblical World* 22 (1903), 214.

<sup>4</sup> F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and the Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> P. D. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

<sup>6</sup> P. D. Miller, "Divine Council and Prophetic Call to War", *VT* 18 (1968), 100-107.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, 100-101.

<sup>8</sup> *The Divine Warrior*, 141-144.